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largely consist in the violent contradiction he offers to other writers who have not been so fortunate as himself in belonging to a brand new school of historical investigators. A. M. WERGELAND.

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*The History of Tammany Hall.* By GUSTAV MYERS. Published by the Author: New York, 1901. 12mo, pp. xxi + 357. \$1.00.

THIS elaborate and scientific history of the world-renowned political organization, which for a century has controlled the justice and the taxing and franchise-giving power of New York city, was dramatically ushered into public view as a *bête noir* among reputable publishers. "Two of the best known firms wrote that they could not encourage me to submit the manuscript to them for consideration. Four others considered its publication 'inadvisable,' though their readers had returned favorable recommendations. One other declined it without giving reasons." When the expense of publication was guaranteed, a certain house replied: "We should hardly feel warranted in locking horns with Tammany Hall." The book was finally published by private subscription. Nothing in the pages of this record of venality indicates more forcibly the nature and the power of the American political machine than the fact that history itself must suffer its censorship.

The timor of the publishers is at first difficult to understand. The tale is ungarnished, being merely a chronological citing of facts painfully gathered from court records, legislative documents, party platforms, unchallenged statements in the daily and periodical press, and other contemporary sources from 1800-1900. It is one of the very few studies of municipal politics which permit original material to tell its own story. If danger to machine politics lurks in this history, it must be due to the footnotes which shift all questions of veracity to Tammany's own courts and legislative inquiries, etc. But having read the book, one marvels that the publishers or even Tammany should see anything personal in the sketch, which is not caricature or portrait of Tammany but rather a silhouette of American party organization, and might fairly have been called the American struggle for the free surplus. Tammany, perhaps unfortunately for its own traditions, furnishes the concrete data, but, after all, it is only the focusing point. Its venality, hypocrisy, and its un-American hierarchy are throughout

effectively related, as effect to cause, to the changing political and social prejudices and customs and to the economic struggles of the people of New York city during the past century. From other court records and inquiries, the author might just as well have spoken of most any other city or state, of interstate railways and tariff legislation, of Congressional lobbies, of national embezzlers, in short of American politics.

The essential lesson to be learned from Tammany's successes is not that schemes have been dishonest, for reform chiefs in New York, whether Republican, Whig, or even citizen, seem to have used Tammany methods though less successfully. The great fact is clearly forced home that political corruption depends upon the ability of office holders to bestow pecuniary benefits. For every corrupt Tammany boss or healer, New York can count through the nineteenth century scores of respectable citizens who have purchased a remission of taxes, a ferry, railway, lighting, or water franchise, contracts for supplies and construction, or perhaps feed offices. Just who these private citizens are the author does not always specify. He does, however, name scores of banks that purchased the right to create panics, insurance companies that bought the privilege to exploit the weak instinct of saving, and various other corporations which, for a consideration, obtained protection of the courts in the maintenance of different natural monopolies.

One tradition is dispelled—that Tammany's transgressions began late in its history. Even Mr. Bryce teaches that such is the case, that Tammany was comparatively innocent until after the Irish immigration. While it is true that the introduction of universal suffrage furnished Tammany with recruits, it is quite as true that Tammany began its political career by colonizing a ward which elected Thomas Jefferson president. In the first decade of the century occurred a series of petty peculations and political ruses whose brazenness and crudity do little credit to the honesty of the public sentiment of the time. Lands were bought at fabulous prices and sold at a great sacrifice to Tammany proteges or officers, while scandal followed scandal in the councils and in the state assembly where politicians boasted of their successful blackmail of corporations. Tammany officials embezzled public funds, purchased acquittal, and came before the people for high office. Jailbirds and paupers were brought to the polls at the bidding of Tammany leaders, while labor was exploited and cajoled and respectability flattered and fleeced. This, too, long before Boss Tweed. Tammany has

never been more honest than the man who controlled or coveted the social surplus. The flagrancy of its misdemeanors has depended upon the strength of the bidders for this surplus. The days of comparative innocence are those days when Tammany had comparatively little to give—the author records no day since 1800 when that little was not given for a reasonable compensation. The book should be consulted for a record of this exchange—the reader will observe how little political theory and how much pecuniary benefits have entered into the life of the greatest political organization the world has known.

Not the least valuable feature of the book is the effective use of facts pertaining to the industrial, economic, and social history of the century. In general histories such facts are isolated and treated somewhat tediously, with little reference to their causes, or to their reaction upon other phases of the life of a people. Here the author uses for purposes of illumination such facts as the establishment of a police, fire, water, or street cleaning department, the introduction of sanitary inspection, the building of the Erie canal, and other transportation facilities, the substitution of one light for another on the streets, the various taxation schemes, the abolition of imprisonment for debt, the various methods of giving franchises, the inception of universal suffrage, direct election and of labor unions. Tammany throughout is but a chameleon, changing position and color to suit those of the dominant factor in the struggle—its function never changes for it ever serves as distributing agent of the opportunities to exploit the public.

Tammany's part in national politics is effectively treated, and to this volume the historian can profitably go who sees the hand of providence in the voice of the great American people in the triumph of one national party over the other in 1800, 1816, 1828, 1840, 1884, 1888, or 1896. There seems to be no doubt that New York has determined several national elections and helped to kill or solve many national economic and political issues, while voting on the sole issue whether Tammany should control the governmental perquisites in New York city. Of special interest in this connection are chapters 8–13, which deal with the great bank controversies in which Jackson plays the leading rôle.

The century is divided into twenty-nine periods, in each of which interest centers about some one local leader or problem. Many times was Tammany overwhelmingly defeated only to arise shortly stronger and more defiant than before. Laborers, like reformers, could not

compete with politicians and capitalists who regarded politics as a money making business. The former failed to realize the importance of organization and vigilance. Those who in the future may strive for reform can find in this history that proper mechanisms are quite as essential as good men. Progress toward honest municipal administration would seem to depend upon minimizing the power of the politician to make pecuniary donations at the expense of the public.

WILLIAM H. ALLEN.

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*The New Harmony Communities.* By GEORGE BROWNING LOCKWOOD. Marion, Ind.: The Chronicle Co., 1902. 8vo, pp. 282.

*The Last Days of the Ruskin Co-operative Association.* By ISAAC BROOME. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1902. 16mo, pp. 183.

THE book on *The New Harmony Communities* appeals especially to students of the community experiments in the United States, but its appeal is hardly less strong to those interested in educational methods, women's suffrage, and the social history of the Mississippi valley. Readers with less serious purpose will be attracted and held by the variety and reality of the life that crowds the pages, and by the biographical sketches of the men and women of romantic ideals and original, independent and unconventional lives who gathered at New Harmony in the early days of the nineteenth century.

Making his one central subject the socialistic community founded by Robert Owen at New Harmony, the author gives it proper perspective by describing a number of other interesting social movements which bore some relation to this one. First, in order of time are the Rappites, a religious sect which arose at a time when a wave of reform was felt among the peasantry of Württemberg, and whose leader, Rapp, founded a community in southern Indiana on the very site where later the New Harmony experiment was tried. The German Society had a remarkable material success and attracted the attention of the reformers that were dreaming of a new society based on communistic principles.

The next step in the chain of events was Robert Owen's reform among his factory operatives in Scotland. This incident is well known to students of socialism. As a result of his success in paternal government Robert Owen's social plans became more wide-reaching. His judgment evidently was unbalanced by the attention his experiment